

likely that in the future, the issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems that have dominated international relations since 1945.

The heat of debate at the General Assembly should not obscure the value of our supporting United Nations involvement in keeping the peace and in the increasingly complex technical and social problems—such as pollution, health, economic development and population growth—that challenge the world community. But we must let the world know that anti-American polemics is no substitute for sound policy and that the United Nations is weakened by harsh rhetoric from other countries or by blasphemous resolutions such as the one equating Zionism and racism.

A Democratic Administration should seek a fair and comprehensive Law-of-the-Sea Treaty that will balance the interests of the developed and less developed countries.

Europe. The nations of Western Europe, together with Japan, are among our closest allies. Except for our closest neighbors in this hemisphere, it is in these regions where our interests are most strongly linked with those of other nations. At the same time, the growing economic and political strength of Europe and Japan creates areas of conflict and tension in a relationship both sides must keep close and healthy.

On the great economic issues—trade, energy, employment, international finance, resources—we must work with the Europeans, the Japanese and other nations to serve our long-run mutual interest in stability and growth, and in the development of poorer nations.

The military security of Europe is fundamental to our own. To that end, NATO remains a vital commitment. We should retain in Europe a U.S. contribution to NATO forces so that they are sufficient to deter or defeat attack, without premature resort to nuclear weapons. This does not exclude moderate reductions in manpower levels made possible by more efficiency, and it affirmatively requires a thorough reform and overhaul of NATO forces, plans and deployments. We encourage our European allies to increase their share of the contributions to NATO defense, both in terms of troops and hardware. By mutual agreement or through modernization, the thousands of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe should be reduced, saving money and manpower and increasing our own and international security.

Europe, like the rest of the world, faces substantial political change. We cannot control that process. However, we can publicly make known our preference for developments consistent with our interests and principles. In particular, we should encourage the most rapid possible growth of stable democratic institutions in Spain, and a continuation on the path of democracy of Portugal and Greece, opposing authoritarian takeover from either left or right. We can make clear our sense of the risks and dangers of Communist participation in Western European governments, while being equally clear that we will work on a broad range of non-military matters with any legally-constituted government that is prepared to do the same with us. We similarly must reaffirm our support for the continued growth and cohesion of the institutions of the European community.

The voice of the United States should be heard in Northern Ireland against violence and terror, against the discrimination, repression and deprivation which brought about that civil strife, and for the efforts of the parties toward a peaceful resolution of the future of Northern Ireland. Pertinent alliances such as NATO and international organizations such as the United Nations should be fully apprised on the interests of the United States with respect to the status of Ireland in the international community of nations.

We must do all that is possible, consistent with our interest in a strong NATO in Southern Europe and stability in the Eastern Mediterranean, to encourage a fair settlement of the Cyprus issue, which continues to extract human costs.

Middle East. We shall continue to seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The cornerstone of our policy is a firm commitment to the independence and security of the State of Israel. This special relationship does not prejudice improved relations with other nations in the region. Real peace in the Middle East will permit Israel and her Arab neighbors to turn their energies to internal development, and will eliminate the threat of world conflict spreading from tensions there.

The Middle East conflict is complex, and a realistic, pragmatic approach is essential. Our policy must be based on firm adherence to these fundamental principles of Middle East policy:

We will continue our consistent support of Israel, including sufficient military and economic assistance to maintain Israel's deterrent strength in the region, and the maintenance of U.S. military forces in the

Mediterranean adequate to deter military intervention by the Soviet Union.

We steadfastly oppose any move to isolate Israel in the international arena or suspend it from the United Nations or its constituent organizations.

We will avoid efforts to impose on the region an externally devised formula for settlement, and will provide support for initiatives toward settlement, based on direct face-to-face negotiation between the parties and normalization of relations and a full peace within secure and defensible boundaries.

We vigorously support the free passage of shipping in the Middle East—especially in the Suez Canal.

We recognize that the solution to the problems of Arab and Jewish refugees must be among the factors taken into account in the course of continued progress toward peace. Such problems cannot be solved, however, by recognition of terrorist groups which refuse to acknowledge their adversary's right to exist, or groups which have no legitimate claim to represent the people for whom they purport to be speaking.

We support initiation of government enforcement action to insure that stated U.S. policy—in opposition to boycotts against friendly countries—is fully and vigorously implemented.

We recognize and support the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Asia. We remain a Pacific power with important stakes and objectives in the region, but the Vietnam War has taught us the folly of becoming militarily involved where our vital interests were not at stake.

Friendship and cooperation with Japan are the cornerstone of our Asian interests and policy. Our commitment to the security of Japan is central to our own, and it is an essential condition to a constructive, peaceful role for that nation in the future of Asia. In our economic dealings with Japan, we must make clear our insistence on mutuality of benefits and opportunities, while focusing on ways to expand our trade, avoiding economic shocks and resultant retaliation on either side. We must avoid the "shocks" to Japan which have resulted from Republican foreign policy.

We reaffirm our commitment to the security of the Republic of Korea, both in itself and as a key to the security of Japan. However, on a prudent and carefully planned basis, we can redeploy, and gradually phase out, the U.S. ground forces, and can withdraw the nuclear weapons now stationed in Korea without endangering that support, as long as our tactical air and naval forces in the region remain strong. Our continued resolve in the area should not be misunderstood. However, we deplore the denial of human rights in the Republic of Korea, just as we deplore the brutal and aggressive acts of the regime in North Korea.

We have learned, at a tragically high price, certain lessons regarding Southeast Asia. We should not seek to control the political future of that region. Rather, we should encourage and welcome peaceful relations with the nations of that area. In conjunction with the fullest possible accounting of our citizens still listed as missing in action, we should move toward normalized relations with Vietnam.

No foreign policy that reflects traditional American humanitarian concerns can be indifferent to the plight of the peoples of the Asian subcontinent.

The recent improvement in relations with China, which has received bipartisan support, is a welcome recognition that there are few areas in which our vital interests clash with those of China. Our relations with China should continue to develop on peaceful lines, including early movement toward normalizing diplomatic relations in the context of a peaceful resolution of the future of Taiwan.

The Americas. We recognize the fundamental importance of close relations and the easing of economic tension with our Canadian and Mexican neighbors.

In the last eight years, our relations with Latin America have deteriorated amid high-level indifference, increased military domination of Latin American governments, and revelations of extensive American interference in the internal politics of Chile and other nations. The principles of the Good Neighbor Policy and the Alliance for Progress, under which we are committed to working with the nations of the Americas as equals, remain valid today but seem to have been forgotten by the present Administration.

The U.S. should adopt policies on trade, aid and investment that include commodity agreements and an appropriate system of trade preferences.

We must make clear our revulsion at the systematic violations of basic human rights that have occurred under some Latin American military regimes.

We pledge support for a new Panama Canal treaty, which insures the interests of the United States in that waterway, recognizes the principles already agreed upon, takes into account the interests of the Canal

work force, and which will have wide hemispheric support.

Relations with Cuba can only be normalized if Cuba refrains from interference in the internal affairs of the United States, and releases all U.S. citizens currently detained in Cuban prisons and labor camps for political reasons. We can move towards such relations if Cuba abandons its provocative international actions and policies.

Africa. Eight years of indifference, accompanied by increasing cooperation with racist regimes, have left our influence and prestige in Africa at an historical low. We must adopt policies that recognize the intrinsic importance of Africa and its development to the United States, and the inevitability of majority rule on that continent.

The first task is to formulate a rational African policy in terms of enlightened U.S.-African priorities, not as a corollary of U.S.-Soviet policy. Angola demonstrated that we must have sound relations with Black Africa and disassociate our policies from those of South Africa to achieve the desired African response to Soviet expansionism in Africa. Our policy must foster high-level U.S.-Africa communications and establish a sound basis for dealing when crises arise.

The next Democratic Administration will work aggressively to involve black Americans in foreign policy positions, at home and abroad, and in decisions affecting African interests.

To promote African economic development, the U.S. should undertake increased bilateral and multilateral assistance; continue Congressional initiatives in food assistance and food production, with special aid to the Sahel and implementation of the Sahel Development Plan; and carry forward our commitment to negotiate with developing countries on key trade and economic issues such as commodity arrangements and trade preferences.

Our policy must be reformulated toward unequivocal and concrete support of majority rule in Southern Africa, recognizing that our true interests lie in peaceful progress toward a free South Africa for all South Africans, black and white. As part of our commitment to the development of a free and democratic South Africa, we should support the position of African nations in denying recognition to "homelands" given pseudoindependence by the South African government under its current policy of "separate development."

The Republican Administration's relaxation of the arms embargo against South Africa must be ended, and the embargo tightened to prevent transfers of military significance, particularly of nuclear material. The U.S. government should not engage in any activity regarding Namibia that would recognize or support the illegal South African administration, including granting tax credits to U.S. companies doing business in Namibia and paying taxes to South Africa. Moreover, the U.S. government should deny tax advantages to all corporations doing business in South Africa and Rhodesia who support or participate in apartheid practices and policies.

The U.S. government should fully enforce the U.N.-ordered Rhodesia sanctions, seek universal compliance with such measures, and repeal the Byrd Amendment.

Efforts should be made to normalize relations with Angola.

Continued from Page 468

assignment had been reached with the initial compliance, Rehnquist said, the court had "fully performed its function of providing the remedy for previous racially discriminatory attendance patterns."

Justices Thurgood Marshall and William Brennan Jr. dissented. The decision involved a Pasadena, Calif. case. [See 1974, p. 420E3]

The case was Pasadena City Bd. of Education v. Spangler (75-164).

Anti-pornography zoning upheld. The Supreme Court upheld, 5-4, June 24 a Detroit ordinance to regulate the location of theaters showing films of explicit sexual activities or depicting "specified anatomical areas." [See 1975, p. 468B3, 176E1]

The majority opinion, written by Justice

...the U.S. must have the best in-  
...the system in the world. The effectiveness of the  
...the community must be restored, consonant  
...the reforms instituted by President Ford. We  
...the creation of an independent oversight function  
...press and we will withstand partisan efforts to  
...part of our intelligence system into a political  
...We will take every precaution to prevent the  
...own of security controls on sensitive in-  
...information, endangering the lives of U.S.  
...tabroad, or affecting the ability of the president  
...repeatedly whenever legitimate foreign policy  
...ense needs require it.

...and Europe. Fundamental to a stable, secure  
...the continuation of our traditional alliances.  
...North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),  
...approaching the end of its third decade, remains  
...and vigorous.

...threat to our mutual security by a totalitarian  
...on expansion brought 15 nations together.  
...pression of our collective will to resist resulted  
...creation and maintenance of a military deter-  
...which, while not without occasional strains, has  
...our vital interests well. Today that threat

...have succeeded in extending our cooperation  
...NATO and have taken bold new steps in eco-  
...operation with our partners. Faced with a  
...in the energy field following the imposi-  
...of the oil boycott, we demonstrated that it was  
...to coordinate our joint activities with the  
...NATO actions.

...the economic strength of Western Europe has  
...at the point where our NATO partners can  
...a larger share of the common defense; in  
...our allies are demonstrating a  
...to do so. This is not the time to  
...a unilateral reduction of American  
...in Europe. We will, however, pursue  
...reduction of forces in both Western and  
...Europe, based on agreements which do not  
...the security of the alliance. With our  
...partners, we affirm that a strong NATO  
...as a U.S. military presence, is vital to  
...Europe.

...of our NATO allies have experienced rapid  
...changes. We are encouraged by develop-  
...the Iberian peninsula, where both Portugal  
...have more promising futures. Early  
...be given to Spain's accession to

...we would view with concern any  
...disclosure in Europe which are  
...to NATO interests. We support the right  
...to elect their leaders. Democracy and  
...are best served by ensuring that those funda-  
...are preserved and extended for future  
...to freedom.

...of Cyprus, which separates  
...and Turkey, should be addressed

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/29 : LOC-HAK-1

76-4-12-9  
...tionship with Japan. Our long-range  
...ity and economic cooperation are  
...the essential strength of a relation-  
...ship which both countries seek actively to deepen.

With respect to the Republic of Korea, a nation with  
which we have had traditionally close ties and whose  
economy has grown rapidly in recent years, we shall  
continue our policy of military and economic  
assistance. U.S. troops will be maintained in Korea so  
long as there exists the possibility of renewed ag-  
gression from North Korea. Time has not dimmed our  
memories of the sudden assault against South Korea.  
We reaffirm the commitment of the U.S. to the terri-  
torial integrity and the sovereignty of the Republic of  
Korea. Simultaneously we encourage the governments  
of South Korea and North Korea to institute  
domestic-policy initiatives leading to the extension of  
basic human rights.

When Republicans assumed executive office in  
1969, we were confronted with a war in Vietnam  
involving more than 500,000 U.S. troops, and to which  
we had committed billions of dollars and our national  
honor and prestige. It was in the spirit of bipartisan  
support for presidential foreign policy initiatives,  
inaugurated in the postwar era by Senator Arthur  
Vandenberg, that most Republicans supported the  
U.S. commitment to assist South Vietnam resist Com-  
munist-sponsored aggression [sic] The human cost to  
us was great; more than 55,000 Americans died in that  
conflict, and more than 300,000 were wounded.

A policy of patient, persistent and principled ne-  
gotiations extricated the United States from that ill-  
fated war with the expectation that peace would pre-  
vail. The refusal of the Democrat-controlled Congress  
to give support to presidential requests for military aid  
to the beleaguered nations of South Vietnam,  
Cambodia and Laos, coupled with sustained military  
assaults by the Communists in gross violation of the  
Paris Peace Accords, brought about the collapse of  
those nations and the subjugation of their people to to-  
talitarian rule.

We recognize that there is a wide divergence of  
opinion concerning Vietnam, but we pledge that  
American troops will never again be committed for  
the purpose of our own defense, or the defense of those to  
whom we are committed by treaty for other solemn  
agreements, without the clear purpose of achieving  
our stated diplomatic and military objectives.

We must achieve the return of all Americans who  
may be held in Southeast Asia, and a full accounting  
for those listed as missing in action. We strongly urge  
continued consultation between the president and the  
National League of Families of American Prisoners  
and Missing in Southeast Asia. This country owes at  
least this much to all of these courageous people who  
have anguished so long over this matter. To this end,  
and to underscore our top priority commitment to the

Our friendly relations with our Asian neighbors  
not be construed as a challenge to the  
of China, and continue to support the freedom and in-  
dependence of our friend and ally, the Republic of  
China, and its 16 million people. The U.S. will fulfill  
and keep its commitments, such as the mutual defense  
treaty with the Republic of China.

The Americas. The relations of the U.S. with the  
Americas are of vital and immediate importance. How  
we conduct our affairs with our neighbors to the north  
and south will continue to be a priority.

In the recent past our attention has at times been  
diverted to more distant parts of the world. There can  
be no sensible alternative to close relationships and  
understanding among the nations of this hemisphere.

It is time for a series of new departures in our rela-  
tions with Canada. Canada is our most important trad-  
ing partner, and we are hers. We, as Americans, feel a  
deep affinity for our Canadian friends, and we have  
much at stake in the development of closer rela-  
tionships based on mutual understanding and com-  
plete equality.

To our neighbors in Mexico, Central America and  
South America, we also say that we wish the op-  
portunity to expand our dialogue. The needs of our  
friends are great, but this must not serve as an  
obstacle for a concerted effort to work together more  
closely. The U.S. has taken steps to adjust tariffs so as  
to maximize access to our markets. We recognize that  
our neighbors place no value on complex and cumber-  
some aid schemes; they see self-help, modernization,  
and expanded trade as the main sources of economic  
progress. We will work with them to define specific  
steps that we can take to help them achieve greater  
economic strength, and to advance our mutual  
interests.

By continuing its policies of exporting subversion  
and violence, Cuba remains outside the inter-  
American family of nations. We condemn attempts by  
the Cuban dictatorship to intervene in the affairs of  
other nations; and, as long as such conduct continues,  
it shall remain ineligible for admission to the Organiza-  
tion of American States.

We shall continue to share the aspirations of the  
Cuban people to regain their liberty. We insist that  
decent and humane conditions be maintained in the  
treatment of political prisoners in the Cuban jails, and  
we will seek arrangements to allow international  
entities, such as the International Red Cross, to inves-  
tigate and monitor the conditions in those jails.

The present Panama Canal Treaty provides that the  
U.S. has jurisdictional rights in the Canal Zone as "if  
it were the sovereign." The U.S. intends that the  
Panama Canal be preserved as an international water-  
way for the ships of all nations. This secure access is  
enhanced by a relationship which commands the  
respect of Americans and Panamanians and benefits  
the people of both countries. In any talks with  
Panama, however, the U.S. negotiators should in no

way cede, dilute, forfeit, negotiate or transfer any  
rights, power, authority, jurisdiction, territory or  
property that are necessary for the protection and se-  
curity of the U.S. and the entire Western Hemisphere.

We reaffirm our faith in the ability of the Organiza-  
tion of American States, which remains a valuable  
means of inter-American consultation.

The Middle East. The preservation of peace and  
stability in the Middle East is a paramount concern.  
The efforts of two Republican administrations, sum-  
moning diplomatic and political skills, have been  
directed toward reduction of tensions and toward  
avoiding flashpoints which could serve as an excuse for  
yet another round of conflict between Israel and the  
Arab countries.

Our commitment to Israel is fundamental and en-  
during. We have honored and will continue to honor  
that commitment in every way—politically, eco-  
nomically and by providing the military aid that Israel  
requires to remain strong enough to deter any  
potential aggression. Forty percent of all U.S. aid that  
Israel has received since its creation in 1948 has come  
in the last two fiscal years, as a result of Republican  
initiatives. Our policy must remain one of decisive sup-  
port for the security and integrity of Israel.

An equally important component for our commit-  
ment to Israel lies in continuing our efforts to secure a  
just and durable peace for all nations in that complex  
region. Our efforts have succeeded, for the first time  
since the creation of the state of Israel, in moving  
toward a negotiated peace settlement which would  
serve the interests and the security of all nations in the  
Middle East. Peace in the Middle East now requires  
face-to-face, direct negotiations between the states in-  
volved with the recognition of safe, secure and defens-  
ible borders for Israel.

At the same time, Republican administrations have  
succeeded in reestablishing communication with the  
Arab countries, and have made extensive progress in  
our diplomatic and commercial relations with the  
more moderate Arab nations.

As a consequence of the Middle East conflict of

dustrial countries. We have succeeded in creating  
mechanisms to protect ourselves,

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2011/04/29 : LOC-HAK-1

76-4-12-9